

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 0828

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, JA

SUBJECT: JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO JAPANESE AMBASSADOR SHIGEMITSU, THE SOVIETS SHOWED NO FLEXIBILITY ON THE QUESTION OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES DURING TALKS WITH JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA. SOVIETS, HOWEVER, AFFIRMED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE TALKS ABOUT A PEACE TREATY AND MOSCOW'S DESIRE FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. MIYAZAWA FLATLY REJECTED THE IDEA OF A SOVIET-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP TREATY BEFORE OR IN LIEU OF A PEACE TREATY. JAPANESE FEEL THEY ACHIEVED SOME PROGRESS ON THE MATTER OF SOVIET REPATRIATION FOR JAPANESE NATIONALS, MANY OF WHOM ARE KOREANS WHO WANT TO GO TO SOUTH KOREA. DURING DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL TOPICS GROMYKO TOOK A POSITIVE LINE ON DETENTE AND AFFIRMED THE USSR'S CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HE SAID THE IMPACT OF THE TRADE ACT REJECTION WILL DEPEND ON "CONCRETE MATTERS". THE SOVIETS DISCUSSED THE MIDDLE EAST IN DISPASSIONATE TERMS WITHOUT CRITICISM OF THE U.S. ALTHOUGH SAUDI ARABIA RECEIVED SOME POINTED BARBS. THE SOVIETS ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED MIYAZAWA'S VIEWS ON PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS WHICH THE JAPANESE CHARACTERIZED AS DEVELOPING NORMALLY. MIYAZAWA ALSO WAS ASKED ABOUT JAPANESE VIEWS ON THE NPT. SHIGEMITSU THOUGHT GENERALLY THAT THE RESULTS OF THE

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VISIT INDICATED THAT SOVIET-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS

WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT DURING THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS, ALTHOUGH HE FELT THERE COULD BE A SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES. SHIGEMITSU THOUGHT RELATIONS IN OTHER FIELDS WILL PROBABLY DEVELOP NORMALLY. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR SHIGEMITSU GAVE ME A FULL RUNDOWN, JANUARY 20, ON FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA'S TALKS IN MOSCOW. (ASSUME DEPARTMENT HAS TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE: RUSSIAN TEXT, PRAVDA JANUARY 19. HE ASKED THAT THIS REMARKS BE CLOSELY HELD AND THAT HE NOT BE GIVEN AS SOURCE FOR THE INFORMATION HE PROVIDED.

3. SHIGEMITSU SAID THAT MIYAZAWA'S VISIT (JANUARY 15-17) HAD PRODUCED NO SURPRISES. THE TALKS WITH GROMYKO WENT LARGELY AS THE JAPANESE HAD ANTICIPATED. SOVIET-JAPANESE BILATERAL AFFAIRS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF A PEACE TREATY, HAD BEEN DISCUSSED DURING A FOUR-HOUR SESSION ON JANUARY 16. GROMYKO AGREED TO VISIT JAPAN ON THE FIRST DAY OF TALKS. TALKS ON JANUARY 17 WERE DEVOTED MOSTLY TO AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL TOPICS. MIYAZAWA ALSO MET PODGORNYY ON JANUARY 17.

4. ACCORDING TO SHIGEMITSU, GROMYKO SHOWED NO SIGN OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES. DURING HIS OPENING REMARKS, JANUARY 16, GROMYKO SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT SOVIET-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP AND THE USSR'S DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. HE SAID A PEACE TREATY WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONSHIP AND NOTED THAT TALKS ABOUT A TREATY AND A TWENTY-YEAR HISTORY. REFERRING TO THE AGREEMENT REACHED WITH TANAKA TO NEGOTIATE AN ACCORD, HE PLEDGED THAT THE USSR WILL CONTINUE THE TALKS. HOWEVER, SHIGEMITSU NOTED, IN ALL HIS PRESENTATION GROMYKO REFUSED TO MENTION THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND INDICATED THAT IN THE SOVIETS' VIEW THE PEACE TREATY SHOULD NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE DISPUTED ISLANDS. DURING HIS OPENING REPLY MIYAZAWA, ACCORDING TO SHIGEMITSU, TOOK CONTRASTING POSITION STATING THAT A PEACE TREATY MEANS A TREATY THAT ENDS UNSETTLED PROBLEMS LEFT FROM THE WAR. IF IT DOES NOT

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RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS (1.3?3 173 5ION), IT IS NOT A PEACE TREATY. MIYAZAWA AFFIRMED THAT JAPAN HAS RENOUNCED REARMAMENT, BUT REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT SECURITY. JAPAN, HE SAID, WANTS TO STRENGTHEN ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS INCLUDING THE USSR. HOWEVER, AMONG THE JAPANESE PEOPLE THERE REMAINS SOME UNSATISFACTORY FEELING ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE OF THE PAST. TO CHANGE THIS, MIYAZAWA CONCLUDED, IT

IS "ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO HAVE THE FOUR ISLANDS."
DURING SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM, SHIGEMITSU
SAID, GROMYKO ADMITTED THAT THE USSR AND JAPAN SHOULD
CONTINUE TO TALK ABOUT A PEACE TREATY, BUT INDICATED
THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD CONCLUDE A "TREATY OF
FRIENDSHIP AND CALL IT A PEACE TREATY." SHIGEMITSU
SAID MIYAZAWA FIRMLY REJECTED THIS SUGGESTION.

5. SHIGEMITSU SAID THAT THE REMAINING BILATERAL DIS-
CUSSIONS HAD BEEN DEVOTED MOSTLY TO THE PROBLEM OF
REPATRIATION FOR FORMER JAPANESE NATIONALS AND TO
FISHERIES. THE REPATRIATION PROBLEM, SHIGEMITSU
EXPLAINED, TOUCHES NOT ONLY THE FORMER RESIDENTS OF
SAKHALIN AND THE KURILE ISLANDS (MOST OF WHOM NOW LIVE
ON THE MAINLAND) BUT ALSO A SIZEABLE NUMBER OF KOREANS
WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY JAPANESE NATIONALS. ACCORDING TO
SHIGEMITSU, THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN GIVING PERMISSION
FOR MANY OF THE JAPANESE TO RETURN TO JAPAN RECENTLY,
BUT HAVE NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING IN ALLOWING KOREANS WITH
FORMER JAPANESE NATIONALITY TO LEAVE FOR SOUTH KOREA.
SHIGEMITSU INDICATED THAT THE DISCUSSION OF THIS
SUBJECT HAD PRODUCED SOME RESULTS, WITH SOVIETS AGREEING
TO TAKE "CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE" ON SUCH CASES. HE SAID
GROMYKO AND PODGORNYY HAD AGREED TO RELEASE SOME FIFTEEN
JAPANESE FISHERMEN (ALL THAT REMAIN IN SOVIET CUSTODY)
TO RETURN TO JAPAN. SHIGEMITSU SAID SOVIET-JAPANESE
FISHERIES QUESTIONS HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL AND
TIME LIMITATIONS HAD NOT ALLOWED ANY SUBSTANTIAL EXCHANGE
ABOUT ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

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6. DURING DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL TOPICS, GROMYKO AFFIRMED THE USSR'S SATISFACTION WITH DETENTE AND ITS IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HE MENTIONED THE VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT AND SALT AGREEMENT AND SPOKE OF THE "CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTION" IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. WHEN MIYAZAWA ASKED ABOUT SOVIET REJECTION OF THE TRADE ACT, GROMYKO EXPLAINED THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE CONGRESS HAS A DIFFERENT OPINION FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. GROMYKO EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY, BUT SAID THAT THEY ARE "NOT QUITE FREE". THIS, HOWEVER, REMAINED AN INTERNAL U.S. AFFAIR. FOR THE SOVIETS' PART, GROMYKO SAID, THE USSR CANNOT RECOGNIZE A U.S. INTERNAL DECREE (I.E. THE TRADE ACT). THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD, THEREFORE, INFORMED THE U.S. THAT IT COULD NOT ACCEPT THE TRADE ACT'S RESTRICTIONS. THE OUTCOME OF THIS ACTION, GROMYKO SAID, REMAINS UNCERTAIN, AND ITS IMPACT WILL DEPEND ON "CONCRETE MATTERS," E.G. ON ACTUAL DECISIONS REGARDING TRADE AND ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH THE U.S. PRIVATE SECTOR. SHIGEMITSU COMMENTED THAT GROMYKO WAS CAREFUL NOT TO CRITICIZE ANYBODY DURING THIS DISCUSSION.

7. SHIGEMITSU INDICATED THAT GROMYKO ALSO DISCUSSED THE MIDDLE EAST IN DISPASSIONATE TERMS. MIYAZAWA EXPRESSED JAPAN'S INTEREST IN HAVING THE SOVIETS USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE ME CRISIS. IN RESPONSE GROMYKO REVIEWED WHAT THE U.S. AND USSR WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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DOING. HE MENTIONED, BUT DID NOT CRITICIZE, THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. IN DISCUSSING THE SOVIET APPROACH, HE COMPLAINED THAT AMONG THE ARABS THERE ARE VERY DIFFERENT VIEWS. IN THIS CONTEXT, SHIGEMITSU SAID, GROMYKO EXPLICITLY CRITICIZED SAUDI ARABIA, SAYING THAT THE SAUDIS CLAIM WHATEVER THE USSR DOES IN THE ME IS AN EFFORT TO EXPORT REVOLUTION. BY CONTRAST, SHIGEMITSU SAID, THERE WAS NO EXPLICIT CRITICISM OF THE U.S. OR OF THE SECRETARY.

8. FROM THE SOVIET SIDE, GROMYKO ASKED MIYAZAWA FOR JAPANESE VIEWS ON CHINA AND NPT. MIYAZAWA, ACCORDING TO SHIGEMITSU, EXPLAINED THAT JAPAN WAS EXPANDING ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA. SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, THEY HAD DEVELOPED NORMALLY. JAPAN AND THE PRC HAD SIGNED CIVIL AIR AND SHIPPING AGREEMENTS, AND THEY WERE GOING WELL. CHINA HAS NOW PROPOSED TALKS ABOUT A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP. JAPAN, HAVING NO TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS WITH CHINA LEFT OVER

FROM THE WAR, HAS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE AND TALKS WILL BEGIN SOON. CHINESE-JAPANESE TRADE REACHED 3.1 BILLION DOLLARS IN 1974, A 53 PERCENT INCREASE OVER THE PREVIOUS YEAR.

9. ON NPT, SHIGEMTISU SAID MIYAZAWA TOLD GROMYKO JAPAN WAS CONCERNED ABOUT SAFEGUARDS. NEGOTIATIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDER WAY WITH THE IAEA. HOWEVER, TWO NUCLEAR STATES ARE NOT CURRENTLY UNDER THE TREATY, INDIA AND THE PRC, AND WHILE THE U.S. AND UK HAVE AGREED TO NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS ON THEIR PEACEFUL USES INSTALLATIONS, THE USSR HAS NOT ACCEPTED SAFEGUARDS ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY. MIYAZAWA SAID JAPAN WANTS THE USSR TO ACCEPT SUCH SAFEGUARDS. SHIGEMITSU SAID GROMYKO OFFERED NO RESPONSE EITHER TO MIYAZAWA'S REMARKS ABOUT NPT OR ABOUT CHINA.

10. AMBASSADOR SHIGEMTISU SUMMED UP THE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE VISIT WITH THE COMMENT THAT HE BELIEVES SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT IN THE COMING TWO TO THREE YEARS. HE SAID MANY JAPANESE PEOPLE HAVE SOMETHING AGAINST THE RUSSIANS. CONFIDENTIAL

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HE THOUGH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS HAD CYCLES OF FLEXIBILITY IN RELATIONS WITH JAPAN SINCE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WERE RESUMED. WHEN THE SOVIETS WISH TO BE FORTHCOMING THEY HIN AT FLEXIBILITY ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES. SOVIET ATTITUDES, HOWEVER, ARE FORMULATED WITH A VIEW TO CHINA. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT WHEN JAPAN CONCLUDES A FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH CHINA, THE PAST YEAR'S HINT AT BETTER RELATIONS WILL END, AND THERE WILL BE NOTHING FOR THE USSR TO DO BUT TO BE TOUGH. NONETHELESS, THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT IN THE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS, RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP WITHOUT THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE POLITICAL AREA. WHILE THE AMBASSADOR ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AN IMPASSE SEEMED TO EXIST AT PRESENT CONCERNING THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, HE DID NOT EXCLUDE THAT SOVIET POLICY ON THIS QUESTION AT SOME POINT COULD CHANGE VERY QUICKLY. HE SAW NO CHANCE THAT THE JAPANESE POSITION WOULD BE ALTERED. STOESEL

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